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ABSTRACT

Broad shifts in the social and economic policies of Australia's developing industrial democracy have brought about an urgent need to discuss the educational implications and related issues. Written to raise key questions and promote discussion, this paper first focuses on the educational base from which industrial democracy must develop in Australia. The author discusses the conflicting trends in Australian education which at one time encouraged participative decision-making processes through experiential learning and at other times prohibited participation through traditional, authoritarian processes. Secondly, the author identifies the critical or strategic groups which need to re-think their educational philosophies and methods if they are to accommodate a more democratic industrial society. Thirdly, the author indicates the need for new educational ideas, processes, and programs necessary for the development of recurrent education for industrial democracy. Finally, the author discusses what implications this recurrent education will have on industrial relations, particularly many long-established policies and practices. (BM)

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the educational implications of industrial democracy

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I INTRODUCTION

Participation, industrial democracy, co-determination and workers' control appear to be little understood, but increasingly discussed, concepts in Australia. The public debates tend, however, to focus narrowly on the institutional and legislative aspects of these concepts. For instance, should there be works councils, if so, what should be their composition, should there be workers on boards of directors, if so, how should they be selected, and so on? True to Australian tradition, the important educational implications of such broad shifts in social and economic policies and practice are ignored. Yet no matter what form, content or level of industrial democracy develops or the different industrial, economic, social and political motives for its development, there is an urgent need for a broad-based discussion of its educational implications.

The approach of this Chapter is, firstly, to show how the conflicting trends in Australian education both hinder and foster participation; secondly, to identify the critical or strategic groups which need to re-think their educational philosophies and methods if they are to accommodate to a more democratic industrial society; and, thirdly, to indicate the need for new educational ideas, processes and programs necessary for the development of recurrent education for industrial democracy. The purpose of the Chapter is to raise key questions and promote discussion — not to promote one person's view of education and industrial democracy. Nevertheless an underlying assumption is that increasing the active and informed participation of people in the decisions which affect their lives is fundamental to the effective working of democracy at all levels in Australia. This is a value to which I am strongly committed and one which naturally influences my writings.

II EDUCATIONAL EXPERIENCE OF EMPLOYEES IN AUSTRALIA

If industrial democracy is to be a reality in Australia, it is important to recognise the educational base from which it must develop. What is this base?

1 Traditional education and experiential learning

The overwhelming number of people employed in Australia in the mid 1970s are products of authoritarian, conformist and hierarchical education systems. Both in their formal education at school and in their experiential learning at home and in the community, they were conditioned to an acceptance of authoritarian rather than democratic values. Like many working class children, I was taught "not to talk at the dinner table" and that "children should be seen but not heard". The headmaster was "the boss" and

the male teacher was "sir". Primary education instilled discipline and rule-following. For many, this authoritarian, conformist and hierarchical education and experience was reinforced strongly by a significant period in the army, navy or air force.

Early experiential learning at work helped to reinforce the initial conditioning. For example, vocational education at technical college and at work emphasised the acquisition of particular technical skills and the authority of the senior people in the occupation or the organisation (technical college or company). Little, if any, attention was given to social skills or to an understanding of the social processes in organisations and society. Even at union meetings, youth were formally and informally discouraged from active participation in the discussions.

Education systems perpetuated the status quo. For the majority of students, particularly working class children, school was a dull, boring, authoritarian experience.

The above is equally true for the majority of migrants in employment, particularly those who came from strongly tradition-based societies.

The majority of parents in Australia, especially migrant parents, possibly still support traditional educational processes. It is certain that many non-innovative educators wish to preserve the traditional systems.

2 Contemporary education and experiential learning

During the 1960s, and particularly in the 1970s, there have been some marked changes in the ideas, the form and the content of education in Australia. While large percentages of students at all levels in Australia are still experiencing a fundamentally conformist and authoritarian education, there is clearly a shift towards more adaptive and participative forms of education. The flood of new educational ideas, policies, programs and processes has made education one of the changing environmental variables which are creating increasing interest in industrial democracy.

What are some of the key educational changes which are significant for industrial democracy?

(a) Increased educational aspirations, expectations and opportunities During the last two decades, there has been a dramatic increase in the educational aspirations and expectations of people entering the work force in Australia, as well as in educational opportunities. Two clear indicators of this are the increased retention rates in secondary schools and the increased enrolment rates at centres of tertiary education. Although these are crude measures of increased learning, particularly as they include some disguised unemployment, it is reasonable to argue that they represent a significant change in the capabilities and attitudes of young employees.

In New South Wales, for example, the retention rate for the 1962 intake into secondary schools (the first group to enter the new six-year secondary

program) was 46.7% in 4th form, 24.5% in 5th form and 21.4% in 6th form. For the 1970 intake, the percentage rates had jumped to 77.1% for 4th form, 36.4% for 5th form and 33.4% for 6th form.

In the tertiary education sector, enrolments in Australian universities increased from 57,692 in 1962 to 142,859 in 1974. Enrolments at colleges of advanced education increased from 28,615 in 1968 to 61,577 in 1974.[1]

This represents a vast increase in the numbers and levels of educated people entering organisations. Having invested so much time in formal education, it is logical that many of these people will want to influence organisational decisions in which they feel they have some competence and interest, even though their increased formal education has often meant a decrease in their experiential learning in economic and organisational life.

(b) Development of open education The traditional, closed education systems in Australia increasingly are being challenged and replaced by more open, participative educational systems, institutions and processes. This is best seen in South Australia where the state education department has built many new, open-spaced primary and secondary schools.[2] Just how far these schools have moved from the traditional, authoritarian, conformist and hierarchical model of education can be illustrated from the following extract from a discussion with a group of social science teachers in one of these new secondary schools:

> "We are setting up an environment, we are creating a community where students are encouraged to express themselves, to be honest with each other. We have set up systems in the school, where any student in a pastoral group can have his say and have it heard around the school. He has a chance to get out and have his voice heard if he wants to. In a situation where there are many barriers to communication, I think he is going to feel very frustrated. He will be dissatisfied. I can't see him being an efficient member of any organisation if he is frustrated. We had our staff camp at the end of last year at which the whole theme of the camp was communication. It was communication largely through our own internal organisation. As a result of that, things have changed, the school operates very much on a committee system, the hierarchy of the school is very much under-emphasised. An interesting exercise was carried out at the end of last year where the students had to guess who the senior masters were and many of the students didn't know who they were. So far as the students are concerned, we are teachers, we are trying to make sure things happen on a team level so that everybody, as much as possible, can be involved in the decision making. So whenever there is an opportunity to have students involved in decision making when it affects them, rather than imposing it upon them, we'll go out of our way to do this because we believe this is part of the whole education program. We see

1 This does not include students in teachers colleges which became Colleges of Advanced Education (CAEs) in 1973.

2 Film Australia and the South Australian Film Unit have produced a series of interesting educational films to illustrate the nature of these schools.

that we teach in subjects, but we are creating a school environment that will probably provide a great deal more long-range learning and the sort of stuff the kids will leave school with, after they have forgotten all the dates, names and so on."

(c) Development of new educational programs The development of new social science syllabuses in all state education systems is an example of how both the form and content of formal educational programs are changing in Australia. This can be briefly illustrated by the following preamble to the new social science syllabus being introduced as a compulsory subject for all secondary school students in New South Wales:

> "The aim of this syllabus is to enable the student to understand the social world in which he or she lives. It relies on discussion, observation and problem solving, rather than data collection and the authoritative exposition of a clearly defined body of information."

Such a program is clearly more compatible with participative, rather than authoritative, decision-making processes.

(d) Changing models of behaviour and opportunities for experiential learning The environment in which young people have grown up in Australia in recent years has provided clearly different models of behaviour and opportunities for experiential learning from those which previously existed. For example—

- television has provided young people with a wide range of new models of behaviour and institutions. For instance, the dominant model of the family in children's television is not the traditional Australian family but the American family where children participate very actively in the family decisions (absent are the old Australian instructions that "children should be seen and not heard");
- the publicity given to community action programs, such as the "Green Bans", have demonstrated the possibility of wider group participation in what were previously remote, bureaucratic and hierarchical decision-making processes;
- an increasing number of young Australians from all socio-economic groups have spent part of their formative years travelling overseas, independently or in small groups. They have learnt to make a wide variety of decisions and achieve small-group consensus through discussion.

Thus, while the predominant educational experience of the majority of employees in Australia has been authoritarian and conformist, there are now trends which indicate this is changing and may not be characteristic in the future. Education is becoming increasingly varied and participative. This variation in educational experience needs to be taken into account when developing recurrent education programs for industrial democracy.

III RECURRENT EDUCATION FOR GROUPS CRITICAL TO INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

An individual's willingness to accept and participate in new democratic processes in industry will be influenced by his initial formal education, by his experiential learning and by the formal and informal opportunities open to him for continual learning. The newly-evolving concept of recurrent education is therefore of particular importance to industrial democracy. What are some of the purposes of recurrent education?

(i) To reduce the widening educational inequality between generations that has arisen because of the emphasis on the education of the young. This educational inequality is causing bitter resentment among many older workers. Unless recurrent education opportunities are made available to older workers, industrial democracy could provide just another arena for youth to display their educational superiority.

(ii) To give people a greater opportunity to cope with complex, multi-dimensional change. A person's willingness and ability to accept change is likely to be considerably influenced by his opportunity for recurrent education.

(iii) To provide a more meaningful and continual relation between education, employment and leisure. The present rigid separation of life periods between education, employment, leisure and retirement is becoming less acceptable to the values of many people and becoming increasingly inappropriate to changing employment opportunities.

(iv) To give people an opportunity for greater self-sufficiency and flexibility in their life styles.

(v) To provide opportunities for individuals, groups, organisations and societies to re-think their educational philosophies. For example, the emphasis on technical skills and the ignoring of social skills in vocational education programs, at all levels of education, has meant that many occupational groups have had inadequate educational preparation for industrial democracy.

What follows highlights, therefore, some of the key groups that need to re-think the form and content of their formal and experiential education in terms of recurrent education and industrial democracy. Some key questions for discussion are raised.

1 Management

Dexter Dunphy's Chapter provides a stimulating basis for discussing the educational implications of industrial democracy for people in management and no attempt is made to cover the ground in that Chapter. It is, however, important to emphasise, firstly, the size and diversity of the educational task involved and, secondly, the size and diversity of established

management education programs and the difficulty of making their form and content more compatible with recurrent education and industrial democracy in Australia.

At the 1971 census, nearly 350,000 people were classified as "administrative, executive and managerial workers". The majority of these people, at all levels of management in both the private and public sectors of the economy, are the products of authoritarian education systems and authoritarian work experiences. To those who advocate nationalisation as a simple elixir for workers' problems, it is pointed out that some of the worst examples of authoritarian working conditions are to be found in the public sector in Australia. Without a change in the process of management, nationalisation is likely to have little or no positive effect on the working relations of the employees involved.

In formulating ideas, policies and programs to make management education compatible with industrial democracy, it is necessary to recognise that there is already an enormous amount and diversity of management education carried out by universities, colleges of advanced education, technical colleges, institutes of management, private and public organisations and management consultants. How can the form, content and priorities of these programs be made more compatible with recurrent education and industrial democracy? Put another way, what is the most appropriate management education for the changing, multi-cultural society of Australia, given increasing pressures for the devolution of power and de-bureaucratisation? To meet the challenge of these questions, educators will need to move outside the comfortable, narrow confines of their formal disciplines and experiences. They will also need to question the values, assumptions and goals underlying their teaching, research and consulting. This can be an emotionally and intellectually challenging experience, but highly disturbing. Management educators and organisations must be willing to accept confrontation and conflict and to make allowances for the individual, group and organisational problems that will result from it.

2 Unions

Union education and training in Australia is in its embryonic stage. It effectively began in the mid 1960s but did not "take off" until 1975 when the Australian Labor Government established the Trade Union Training Authority (TUTA). This new authority, however, has very limited resources, particularly when compared with public facilities available for management education. It must divide these resources between such things as: developing trainers; devising and delivering appropriate learning processes and educational resources; reducing the massive backlog in the education required by shop stewards for them to carry out their existing tasks more effectively; providing special courses for minority groups, such as women, migrants and youth; providing courses for full time union officials on special issues, such as inflation; and, finally, developing programs and processes to assist unions towards involvement in industrial democracy. Given the present level of resources, both financial and human, the contribution of TUTA to an understanding and development of industrial democracy is severely restricted.

The significance of this restriction was recently emphasised by a remark made to me by a senior German union official, that enormous investment in the education of German union officials was essential to the effective working of the German system of co-determination. Individual German unions maintain at least twenty three colleges (some of which are used as vacation centres during the summer) and the DGB (the German equivalent of the ACTU) maintains six colleges and three academies, the latter being tertiary education centres offering advanced programs. The Scandinavian unions have comparable, well-established education centres. Yet, in 1973, when Sweden passed a law requiring the appointment of two employee directors to company boards, the established union education centres were overtaxed by the additional demands placed on their resources.

For moves towards recurrent education and industrial democracy to be effective, the unions will therefore need —

(a) considerably more human and material education resources;

(b) new, participative, educational programs to provide an understanding and ability to effectively contribute to industrial democracy (for example, industrial democracy may require workers to understand and accept complex, new "package deals", that is, job redesign, organisational restructuring, union amalgamation, collective bargaining etc.);

(c) an understanding, but not necessarily an acceptance, of the values and assumptions underlying the decision-making processes in contemporary organisations and societies;

(d) a closer relationship than exists at present between unions and the educational innovators; and

(e) a decrease in the authoritarian values and practices of many senior union officials.

3 Industrial tribunals

While considerable attention has been devoted to management education and, more recently, union education in Australia, the recurrent education requirements of members of industrial tribunals have usually been ignored. A few key members of the tribunals spend considerable time and effort in informal education but there have been no official moves to develop formal recurrent education programs for members of the tribunals. This is in marked contrast to the United States Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service which is required to spend a significant amount of its resources on education for its members, its possible clients and the public.

What will be the role of the industrial tribunals as more democratic decision-making processes develop in industry? What effect will management and union education for industrial democracy have on the educational needs of members of the tribunals?

4 Specialist groups

Within public and private organisations, there are strategic individuals and groups of specialists who can, formally and informally, have considerable influence on decision-making processes. These include

accountants, economists, engineers, systems analysts, operations researchers and marketing specialists. While much, if not all, of their tertiary education tends to ignore the human implications of their occupations, the form and content of this education tends to inculcate or reinforce traditional, technocratic values and skills rather than democratic values and skills.

Australian universities have fostered the twin cults of meritocracy and technocracy to the point where a large proportion of their specialist graduates are unable to communicate, let alone collaborate, with people of different education, experience or values. Unfortunately, the normally narrow education and experience of university staffs, together with the in-group pressure to confine their research and teaching to areas where they can claim that they are "rigorous" has not led to a questioning, particularly in technical faculties, of the relationship between the teaching of technocratic skills and values and the changing social environment and power relations facing graduates in employment. Many university staff, who are fond of blaming management and unions for being resistant to change, need to look a little more critically at their own work.

(a) Accountants The role of accountants in industrial democracy is particularly critical. Their methods significantly influence the operation of an organisation. It is unfortunate that traditional accounting practice and finance-based decision-making do not take into consideration the human resource implications of such practices. In Europe and North America there is, however, a growing awareness of this gap in accounting practice, along with the development of the new concept of human resource accounting. The significance of this field to industrial democracy was highlighted by the fact that, in 1975, Germany, the country which has pioneered co-determination, sponsored the first international conference on human resource accounting.

Unfortunately, the accounting profession in Australia has been conservative and slow in interesting itself in the human side of enterprises. There is an urgent need for the accounting profession in Australia to develop research, teaching, pilot projects and policies in relation to human resource accounting. On the teaching side, a small beginning has been made at the University of New South Wales, where the staff of the Department of Behavioural Science now lecture first-year accountancy students to enable them to gain an awareness of the human implications of accounting practices. A graduate seminar at the same university now also includes an examination of human resource accounting. However, much research and recurrent education will be necessary to free organisations from the narrow constraints of purely finance-based decision-making.

Accountants could also contribute to the broader democratic processes in Australia by increasing their interest in social accounting (i.e. the development of regular non-financial reporting procedures) and in the development of more appropriate ways of presenting information to a society where a range of groups, not just management and shareholders, have a stake in organisations. Accountants in Australia could fruitfully

study the 1975 Sudreau Committee Report on the Reform of the Enterprise in France.

(b) Economists The research and teaching of economics in Australian universities is predominantly under the control of technocrats who have "rigorously" quantified and dehumanised their occupation. Yet, at the same time, public and private organisations are employing an increasing number of people, with formal economic education, in specialist and administrative roles. (One reason for this is the substantial increase in the number of economics graduates in the 1970s.) These educational and employment trends are increasing the barriers to the development of industrial democracy for two reasons. Firstly, because of the quantitative nature of their education, economists tend to "define out" difficult social and political problems rather than attempt to understand and cope with them. Secondly, because current economics education, like that of other narrow specialisations, appears to be decreasing, the ability of economists to explain their analysis to people with different education and values. Given the technocratic, elitist values of many of the senior members of university economics departments, it is unlikely that they will be willing to re-think their educational philosophy to make it more compatible with industrial democracy. It is much easier to define it out as just another difficult social problem that cannot be quantified.

(c) Engineers Engineering education in Australia has not been noted for its concern with developing a student's understanding of the social and power relations in industrial society. The students are conditioned by the form and content of their education to narrow technical values which are at odds with the changing socio-technical environment in which they are eventually employed. Engineering courses normally provide no opportunities for students to reappraise their own value assumptions nor are students exposed to the different values of people with whom they will eventually have to work. Graduate engineers who return to the university to undertake an MBA program often do so because they are concerned with the inadequacy of their social education. The anti-union attitude of many engineers is a reflection of their education and its failure to give them an understanding of long-established, but changing, power relations in industrial society. If engineers are to play a constructive rather than an obstructive role in the development of more democratic processes in industry in Australia, then engineering educators will need to re-think their philosophies and teaching methods.

This is particularly the case in schools of production engineering where the philosophy and values of Taylorism[3] still dominate the educational scene. There is an urgent need for production engineers to switch from their narrow, technical approach to a broader, socio-technical approach. This would, for example, take them into the field of group production methods, not in the traditional production engineering sense of a group of machines,

3 *Editor's note:* Taylorism has these days come to stand for the engineering tradition of job design based on the philosophy of Frederick W. Taylor, where specialisation is taken to its extreme and results in management fully preplanning the work and the employees being denied initiative and discretion. See F.W. Taylor, "The Principles of Scientific Management", Harper & Row, New York 1911.

but in the socio-technical sense of a group of people and machines. John L. Burbridges' "Final Report on A Study of the Effects of Group Production Methods on the Humanisation of Work"[4] would be a good starting point for such an approach.

(d) Systems analysts[5] The formal and experiential learning of many systems analysts (and operations research people) is often constrained within the air-conditioned, hermetically-sealed environments of the computers they work with. Their values have a high technological and efficiency orientation. Their almost-religious devotion to their new world of electronic data processing gives them little opportunity to understand or communicate with people outside the computer industry. The centralised systems they design are meant to satisfy the senior executives of hierarchical organisations Decentralised systems, designed to meet the decision-making interests of other individuals and groups in organisations, are very rare in Australia. Thus the work of systems analysts is tending to produce organisation systems to support authoritarian and hierarchical systems rather than democratic and decentralised systems. If this tendency continues, it could severely restrict the scope of industrial democracy in Australia.

(e) Marketing specialists Marketing specialists tend to develop a distinctive subculture in an organisation. Their dominant frame of reference is the market outside their organisation. Nevertheless the decisions they make often have a significant impact on the working lives of other people in their organisation, particularly those in the production and distribution areas. For instance, alterations in marketing strategies can change the production process and therefore the industrial relations of an organisation. Many marketing people seem unconcerned with or unaware of this interdependency and seem to regard any conflict in the production or distribution sections as the fault of others. It is essential therefore to develop learning processes which give people within organisations an understanding of the organisational impact of marketing policies and programs. With this in mind, one educationally-conscious general manager of a production unit in Sydney has made his marketing manager responsible for all negotiations with unions involved in the distribution process.

If organisations are to function effectively in the changing socio-technical environment of Australia, then many specialist groups will need to have a greater understanding of the skills and values of others, of the impact of their policy proposals on others and a willingness to share effective decision-making with others. This will require massive and, for many, traumatic changes in the educational values and learning experiences of many tertiary-trained specialists in industry. This will take *time*, but unless a start is made soon, Australia will find that many of its educational and learning systems are diverging significantly from the dominant social trends in the society. In terms of industrial relations and industrial democracy, this could be a divergence with disastrous consequences for Australian organisational life.

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4 International Centre for Advanced Technical and Vocational Training, Turin, Italy, 1975.

5 I have dealt more fully with this group in an article on "Computers and the Quality of Working Life" SEARCH, Vol. 5, No. 8, August 1974.

5 Disadvantaged groups

(a) Migrants Many administrators and executives in the public and private sectors, locally and overseas, appear to develop policies on the assumption that Australia has an all English-speaking work-force familiar with the traditional, local industrial institutions and organisations. In discussions and proposals for industrial democracy, the problems of participation of migrants rarely rates a mention. Yet, in manufacturing industry, forty per cent of the work force were born overseas. In many industries, firms and unions, the percentage is much higher.

Research carried out for the Green Paper on Policies for the Development of Manufacturing Industry[6] indicates that, without a massive and appropriate educational investment, effective participation in industrial decision-making is a "non-event" for a large proportion of the migrant work force. Without such an investment in education programs relevant to the needs of migrant workers, the development of broad, participative policies and programs is likely to further disadvantage an already severely handicapped group. This is particularly so in the case of married migrant women who are trying to carry out the roles of employee and housekeeper in an alien environment.

An essential prerequisite for industrial democracy for migrants is an effective orientation program which gives non English-speaking migrants some competence in English and all migrants an understanding of the Australian labour market, and the nature and operation of its industrial organisation and institutions.[7] For example, precious little has ever been spent on teaching the much-maligned "Pommie shop stewards" about the complex Australian industrial arbitration systems. Yet they, like other migrants, are expected to abide by the decisions of tribunals which they often know little about.

(b) Women As the women's movements in the 1970s have so amply shown, women rarely have been given equal opportunity or encouragement to participate in industrial, economic, social or political decision-making processes in Australia. Therefore the potential clientele and the need for innovative new learning opportunities and educational programs to provide effective industrial democracy for women is enormous. What are the most appropriate priorities and programs for such a large and diverse, disadvantaged, group? How can they be determined by a participative process which will allow the more disadvantaged some influence in the development of such priorities and programs? (In 1975 the newly established National Employment and Training System (NEAT) came under public criticism and was subsequently amended, when it became apparent that middle-class women were the main beneficiaries of the scheme.)

To illustrate just a few of the issues involved, one should look at the changing, but also unchanging, role of women in the work force in

6 See Volume IV of the Report of the Committee to Advise on Policies for Manufacturing Industry, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra, October 1975.

7 See G.W. Ford "Australian Orientation Programs" Appendix C, Committee on Community Relations; Final Report, September 1975, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra 1975.

Australia. In the census of June 1954 there were 289,932 married women in the work force. By August 1975, this figure had increased to 1,293,000. This represents an increase in the participation rate of married women in the work force from 12.6% to 40%.[8] Yet the participation rate of women in union or management decision-making processes has hardly changed during this period. In fact, the percentage of women in the work force classified as "administrative, executive and managerial workers" fell from 4.01% in 1961 to 2.54% in 1971. This illustrates the inertia which must be overcome if women are to participate more fully in the decisions which affect their lives.

What recurrent educational programs and other learning experiences will help overcome this inertia? What new employment, childcare and educational conditions are needed to provide women with the opportunity, motivation and ability to participate? What new flexible patterns of employment, housework, leisure and education will give women the best opportunity to participate in the decisions which affect their lives?

These questions need to be discussed in relation to society as a whole. In terms of priorities, it may be that women's liberation and industrial democracy is best advanced through liberating Australian men from some of their traditional attitudes and values. For instance, married and single women with dependants who are in the work force normally perform two "full time" jobs. In one role they are normally expected to manage a household yet in the other they are normally expected to participate only in the productive, rather than the decision-making, process. Consequently, many women are satisfied with dull, repetitive jobs because it allows them to concentrate on thinking about such things as what has to be purchased quickly during the lunch break or before the shops close after work, to feed and clothe their family. Until the education of men in Australia liberates them enough to share some of the household and family tasks and responsibilities, then we can expect that many women will consciously restrict their participation at their place of employment. A senior shop steward in a large Sydney factory has told me that she could only carry out that role because her husband willingly took over many of the household tasks traditionally carried out by women in Australia. Perhaps the most challenging question, therefore, is what are the social, economic, educational and employment conditions which would allow women a greater, effective involvement in industrial democracy?

(c) Shift workers In terms of educational opportunity, shift workers are second-class citizens. None of our formal education programs at technical colleges, colleges of advanced education or universities cater for the increasing number of shift workers. What changes in patterns of work and leisure, in educational institutions and programs, and in industrial conditions, are needed to give shift workers an equal opportunity with other workers to effectively equip themselves for industrial democracy?

8 These figures do not include those women who are separated, divorced, widowed or single women with dependants. Also in August 1975, 115,100 married women spent even more than forty hours a week in paid employment.

6 Public officers on boards of directors

The Premier of South Australia, Mr. Don Dunstan, has proposed appointing public officers to boards of directors. If such a proposal eventuates, what would be an appropriate education and learning experience for such people, both before and after their appointment? What would some of their educational and experiential needs be? They would need to understand and cope with the ambiguity of their role, i.e. they need to be accepted and credible to a diversity of people. They would need to be able to balance their responsibility to society with their responsibility to the organisation. This may require them to challenge the established values of an organisation. They would need to understand the particular culture of the industry they were involved in. They would need to appreciate the appropriate return on capital needed to sustain investment in an organisation.

It is clear from this short list that the education of public officers on boards of directors is a complex issue which will require considerable thought and experimentation. In the initial stage of such a scheme, it may be appropriate to appoint people who have a broad range of education and experience and then to evaluate their adaptation to the role and their requests for recurrent education relevant to their needs.

7 Educators

In discussing the variety of recurrent education requirements for the strategic groups in industrial democracy, it becomes obvious that the form and content of much of the initial formal education in Australia is inappropriate to industrial democracy. This is also the case in the preparation of teachers for primary, secondary and tertiary education. With the increasing interest of teachers' organisations in industrial relations, hopefully they will turn their attention to questioning the role of education in equipping people for a more democratic industrial society.

How will educators at all levels prepare themselves for the development of recurrent education and industrial democracy? For instance, what changes in their education are needed for them to cope with the changes which will occur in the student population with moves towards universality of access to education for people of all ages and socio-economic status? Instead of being faced with groups of inexperienced youths, educators may increasingly be faced with groups of students whose ages and experiences span many generations, occupations and life styles. Also the increasing recognition of the value of experiential learning and the consequent movement away from many traditional, formal education programs, processes and institutions could significantly challenge the present roles of educators. If democracy is to be experienced and not simply talked about, educational institutions themselves need to become models of how democratic processes can be incorporated into organisational life. Most formal educational bodies have a long road to travel to reach that point.

8 Vocational counsellors

I have chosen the term "vocational counsellors" rather than the traditional titles of "vocational guidance officers" or "career guidance officers" because the latter represent concepts which are increasingly inappropriate to the values of many people and to the changing nature of the labour market. "Guidance" is often resented by people who place a high value on self-sufficiency. Also the concept of a "career" is increasingly difficult to sustain in a changing labour market which may require people to change occupations and employers a number of times in a lifetime.

The levels and opportunities of participating in decisions which affect one's working life is likely to become an increasingly important variable in the choice of vocational education and employment. This will require vocational counsellors to improve their understanding, firstly, of the changing social and power relations in employment, secondly, of an individual's interests and abilities to participate in various levels of decision-making and, thirdly, of the adequacy of recurrent education programs for industrial democracy in particular organisations and industries.

These demands on vocational counsellors will require a considerable re-thinking of their own recurrent education needs.

IV EDUCATIONAL IDEAS AND PROCESSES FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

Keynes once wrote of the influence of ideas.

> "... [T]he ideas of economists and political philosophers, both when they are right and when they are wrong, are more powerful than is commonly understood. Indeed the world is ruled by little else. Practical men, who believe themselves to be quite exempt from any intellectual influences, are usually the slaves of some defunct economist. Madmen in authority, who hear voices in the air, are distilling their frenzy from some academic scribbler of a few years back. I am sure that the power of vested interests is vastly exaggerated compared with the gradual encroachment of ideas. Not, indeed, immediately, but after a certain interval; for in the field of economic and political philosophy there are not many who are influenced by new theories after they are twenty-five or thirty years of age, so that the ideas which civil servants and politicians and even agitators apply to current events are not likely to be the newest. But, soon or late, it is ideas, not vested interests, which are dangerous for good or evil."[9]

Although John Dewey's classic "Democracy and Education"[10] has been a textbook for innumerable students and lecturers in the field of education in Australia, little of their work reflects Dewey's concern for the relationship between education and democracy. How can we motivate our

9 John Maynard Keynes "The General Theory of Employment Interest and Money" Macmillan, London, February 1936.
10 Macmillan, London. 1916.

educational theorists and practitioners to concern themselves with the relation between education and industrial democracy? How can we motivate them to develop ideas and processes that support, rather than hinder, the development of industrial democracy?

To develop such ideas and processes, educators will need to understand and grapple with the educational implications of the following concepts, which are of increasing significance to the understanding of the changing employment relations in Australia:

(a) multi-culturalism
(b) multi-dimensional change
(c) multiplicity of rates of change
(d) continuous transfer of ideas
(e) environmental interdependence
(f) unintended consequences of policies and practice
(g) discontinuity in social trends
(h) instability and uncertainty
(i) ambiguity
(j) remoteness.[11]

For example, what attitudes, values, knowledge and skills are needed for decision-making in a changing, multi-cultural industrial community? How can education help people to define policies so that they become aware of their possible, unintended, as well as their intended, consequences? How can education help people to cope with uncertainty? What are the social skills which will encourage and facilitate more participation in industrial democracy? The solutions to such questions may be difficult but they are also important to the future of Australia as a viable democracy.

V INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS IMPLICATIONS OF RECURRENT EDUCATION FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

The development of recurrent education and industrial democracy will challenge many hard-won and long-established industrial relations policies and practices, particularly those which are based on the rigid division of life into patterns of education, employment, leisure and retirement.

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11 For a discussion of the nature and significance for industry of each of these concepts see Chapter 5 of "A Study of Human Resources and Industrial Relations at the Plant Level in Seven Selected Industries", Volume (IV), "Policies for the Development of Manufacturing Industry", Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra 1975.

1 Hours of work

Australian unions have always placed great stress on the reduction of standard hours of work. The gradual establishment of the eight hour day in the second half of the nineteenth century, the reduction of standard weekly hours from 48 to 44 to 40, the establishment and continual improvement in annual leave and the formulation and establishment of the concept of long service leave are notable achievements which attest to the Australian unions' long commitment to reducing the length of the standard working week. The fact that Labour Day in Australia is called the "6 hour day" indicates the priority Australian unions have traditionally given to reducing daily hours of work. Changing such a strongly held, emotional commitment will not be easy. However, it is time for unions to question the appropriateness of rigidly setting standard daily and weekly hours of work. Already, the concept of "flexitime" and increases in absenteeism have shown that many people desire a more flexible approach to this issue.

The concept of *learning leave* provides the unions with an opportunity to re-think their current priorities in relation to hours of work.[11A] The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) through its Centre for Educational Research and Innovation (CERI) has been developing the concept of educational leave in relation to recurrent education.[12] Also in 1974 the International Labour Organisation (ILO) adopted a Convention and Recommendation in favour of the formal establishment and general availability of educational leave.

Given the increasing need for recurrent education and increasing support for educational leave, what is the more appropriate priority for employees in Australia? A 35 hour standard working week or educational leave? If people on a 40 hour week were to have it reduced to a 35 hour week this would represent a reduction of 5 hours a week, amounting to 240 hours a year (given four weeks' annual leave). Would it be more appropriate to use these hours for educational leave?[13]

2 Access to information

Industrial democracy at any level cannot work without access to the information appropriate to the decisions being taken. How can industrial tribunals, legislators, accountants and union and management negotiators be educated to understand what is the appropriate amount, form and content of the information needed to allow for a wider range of people and groups to influence organisational decisions? For instance, too much information may often confuse, rather than help, decision-making processes.

11A See G.W. Ford "Understanding, Coping with and Influencing Change: The Need for New Learning Opportunities for Teachers". Australian Journal of Adult Education, Vol. XVI, No. 1, April 1976.

12 See Centre for Educational Research and Innovation, "Developments in Education Leave of Absence", Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, Paris 1976.

13 In a migrant's first year of employment in Sweden, employers are required by law to provide 240 hours of language tuition during normal working hours.

As information is an increasingly important source of power in a knowledge-based society, people in control of information and knowledge are unlikely to share it without some legislative or award compulsion. However, unless information and knowledge are shared more equally in society, participation in decision-making is in danger of becoming false participation.[14]

Such a sharing will require many members of industrial tribunals to change their traditional views and decisions on management prerogatives; especially as such decisions do not correspond with either the theory or practice of contemporary organisations or to the changing social and power relations in the community. The educational task involved in such a change is formidable, firstly, because it will mean changing some rigidly adhered-to and often authoritatively-stated values and, secondly, because lawyers, who are the dominant group involved, normally have no experience of working in large private or public organisations.

VI CONCLUSION

It will take *time* to develop recurrent educational priorities, policies and programs relevant to industrial democracy. This is precisely why groups and organisations should begin immediately to discuss the issues which have been raised in this Chapter.

There is a grave danger of organisations developing new social processes without appropriate and essential educational support. Without such support, the policies may be abandoned without being fully tested.

14 See Mark Mulder "Power Equalisation through Participation", Administrative Science Quarterly, Vol. 16, No. 1, March 1971.